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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[3] they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[4] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[5] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[3] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[4] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

[5]

Native Name	*Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books*	*Population*
Hongwam	Washkuk—Bangus	374
Koriyasi	Chissaraman (Shasherman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanji)	108
Tangwishamp	Tangunjambi (Taunjambi)	*circa* 300

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister U'ka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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were more closely associated with it. All our best informants —Yat, Kar, Kis, Mar, Mes, Gwiyap, and Mey—spoke pidgin English, and all were of the Mangwiyow lineage with the exception of Mes. They also acted as interpreters when those who spoke only Kwoma were questioned. Gwiyap, Mar, Mey, and Mes were hired as house and shoot boys so that they were virtually always around. This permitted a great deal of unobtrusive questioning and observation of their behavior.

A short statement of the social positions in which the Kwoma placed the investigators may be useful in order to indicate the direction of the biases and lacunae in the data. At first we did not fit into any of the simple categories into which they had divided Europeans. A summary of the history of Kwoma contact with whites will clarify what being white meant to them. The first contact was in 1913 when the Kwoma killed a police boy[24] connected with the Behrmann expedition, for raping one of their women. A Kwoma was shot in reprisal. From this time until the Australians brought them "under control" in 1928, the Kwoma had little contact with Europeans. Since then they have come only occasionally in touch with white recruiters, traders, missionaries, and Australian government officers.

According to their own retrospective accounts, the first conception which the Kwoma had of the whites was that they were unnatural beings. They called them *ngamba* (ghost), a word which is also used to refer to a person who commits some heinous crime. It corresponds roughly in meaning to the English words "inhuman," "monstrous," or "unnatural"; and it would appear that this feeling persists, to some extent, to the present day. After I had been living at Rumbima for about six months, I came back from bathing at the spring below Mar's house without bothering to put my shoes on. Awa and Kwiya were sitting under Mar's porch. I had become quite friendly with these two girls, as I had frequently gossiped and joked with them on my almost daily

[24] Natives trained by both the former German and present Australian territorial governments to act as constables under the orders of a white officer.

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829 visits to Mar's house. They had never seen me without shoes
123 on, however, and when they saw my white feet they shud-
114 dered and turned away, indicating strong revulsion and horror. Mar told me afterward that the girls were sure that I was a ghost after they had seen my feet.

• 648 Another event that was important in determining the atti-
175 tude of the Kwoma toward Europeans took place in 1928. Two Australian police boys, while foraging for food at Hongwam, met and raped two Hongwam housewives. The husbands and relatives of these women attacked and killed the two police boys. When the Australian officer in charge of the district discovered the murders, he visited the tribe with a squadron of police boys, killed about twenty of the natives,[28] cut down their orchards, and burned their house tamberans. The natives who escaped fled into the bushes and swamps. The patrol officer built a house and stayed with his entourage until he had enticed the natives to return to their territory and had established order. During this time he tried to make clear to the natives that they had been punished for homicide and that, if they had grievances, they should bring their case to the "government" and not take the law into their own hands. He also let it be known that the Australian government was ready to punish anyone convicted of head-hunting or sorcery. Despite this warning, the Hongwam carried out a successful head-hunting raid a few years later. The patrol officer again visited the tribe; however, he could not discover the actual culprits, and so merely gave the assembled people of Kwoma a severe lecture threatening dire consequences similar to those of 1928 if there was any further evidence of head-hunting. He also forced a group of Kwoma, including Gwiyap, Mar, and Fit, to witness the hanging at Ambunti of some river natives who had been convicted of taking heads.

[721]

114 When we arrived at the government station at Ambunti on
648 our way to Kwoma, the patrol officer stationed there sent a police boy to Hongwam to order all the adult males to come to the station and carry our luggage over the mountain.

[28] Seventeen of those killed appear on the genealogical charts.

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About a dozen of the Hongwam obeyed this command but said that it was impossible to take the luggage by land. The patrol officer scolded them because more had not come and told them that they lied about the road being impassable. He explained that two white men were coming to stay with them for a long time to learn their language and customs. He then ordered them to return home and gather as many men as possible the next afternoon at the foot of the mountain, where we would land after taking the river route by canoe, to carry our baggage. The patrol officer decided to go to Kwoma with us because it was an appropriate time to make his yearly visit to the tribe and because there was also a special matter to attend to. Several Hongwam natives had signed a contract to work on a plantation but had bolted back home before their time was completed. It was the patrol officer's job to make them fulfill their contracts. We were accompanied into Kwoma territory, therefore, by the patrol officer and a company of police boys. On the day after our arrival he commanded all the natives to assemble at Rumbima house tamberan near which we had camped. When they arrived he took the annual roll call and recorded births and deaths. He scolded the natives because many of them had not responded to the assembly summons. He said that the excuse of being away in their gardens was not sufficient and unless they all came on his next visit there would be trouble. Then he asked where the four runaways were. No one knew. He said that if they came with him to fulfill their contract all would be well, but that if they did not they would be hunted out and put in jail. In response to this threat one gave himself up, but the other three remained hidden. The patrol officer then announced to the assembled tribe that we had come to study their language and customs and were going to stay a long time. He ordered them to build a house for us and warned them that if anyone harmed us he would be severely punished by the government.

In order to complete the description of the status of a white man in Kwoma culture, it should be noted that white recruiters had on several occasions visited the tribe in person,

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or else had sent native emissaries, during the previous decade, and had enticed a dozen or more of the young men to leave with them to work either on plantations or in the gold fields. The old men had strongly opposed this because it put a great economic burden on them to have so many able-bodied men leave the tribe. Mothers feared that their sons would never return alive, sisters were left without brothers to help and protect them, and the young women were left with fewer lovers. On the positive side, however, the families of the recruited boys were given axes, knives, plane irons for adz celts, and other European articles which were extremely valuable to the Kwoma who had hitherto known only tools of stone, wood, and bone. Then the young men came back from their work with more tools and with money with which to buy pigs and shells from the river natives as well as with many tales of the wonders of white technology and the peculiarities of white customs. Yat, Kar, and Kis were the only ones to go from Rumbima.

When we arrived, therefore, white men were classed in two categories: government agents and recruiters.[28] The former were dangerous; the latter both annoying and useful. Since we arrived with the patrol officer, we were first classed as "government." Furthermore, since we came at a time when the patrol officer was trying to force runaways to return, many of the people of Hongwam believed that we were special emissaries sent to bring these fugitives to justice. It was not until we had lived in the community for four months that we even saw these young men. On the other hand, since we brought many boxes of supplies and trade goods, we were classed in part as recruiters. In fact, the older men continually warned us not to entice young men to leave the tribe with us. Wof put it: "Don't take Gwiyap and Mar to America with you. We need them to help with the work of the hamlet." Their fears came true, for when I left with a recruiter, Gwiyap, Mar, Mes, and four other boys "signed on" with

[28] The Kwoma had had so little contact with missionaries and traders that these people hardly formed distinct categories.

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882 he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he
836 did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then
602 he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta.
124 When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that
835 does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister noth-
[348] ing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On
[344] the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on"
to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

835 A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing.'[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

882 Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married
837 women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the
[361] factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[192] [18] *Sumwe sumwe mowo*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowo sa-*
[196] *kana*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[835] [20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest.
[539] "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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583 calmed down. He was very anxious about this plan, and kept asking me to support him if he got into trouble as a result of it. He was afraid that Waramus and his son would seize one of his *sisters* in retaliation.

On the eve of the planned elopement one of the more influential of Mar's *paternal uncles* withdrew his support, saying that Waramus was a notorious sorcerer and would undoubtedly sorcerize Mar if the latter carried out his plan. This was enough to deter Mar. Gwiyap was contemptuous of Mar's vacillation, and said that if he had wanted to marry Aya, he would have done so long ago, Waramus, *uncles*, or no. He told Mar that he was too afraid of talk. As a matter of fact, [648] [464] Mar did delay too long, for shortly after the elopement fell through a white recruiter came to Kwoma, and Mar escaped the conflict by signing a contract to work for three years on a plantation.

882 The sexual behavior of adolescent girls has in part been covered in the foregoing consideration of male adolescents. [123] [838] [839] In some respects it differs from that of boys. I was able to discover nothing about the private sexual life of adolescent girls, nor of their homosexual behavior. They do not, however, either masturbate in public nor indulge in any open sexual relationships with other females.

882 834 The sanctions against immodest behavior increase in intensity when a girl becomes pubescent. Whereas young girls are only mildly scolded for assuming immodest postures, adolescent girls are severely criticized for such behavior. A girl is told that immodest behavior is interpreted as a sexual invitation and that consequently if she is immodest she will be considered a loose woman and her chances of a good marriage will be spoiled. Usually the sanction does not appear in this rational form, but simply as a command from a parent or other relative to be more careful. A properly modest Kwoma girl never sits with her legs apart or knees drawn up, but stretches her legs out close together with knees unbent. She takes care never to bend over in the presence of men unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

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443 an adult she takes the responsibility for seeing that a surplus
462 of flour is produced and for arranging the day for the next market.

421 By the time a Kwoma has reached adulthood, he has learned the system of property rights of his culture. He knows that garden produce belongs to the person on whose section it was grown, that sago flour belongs to the persons who process it, fish to the women who catch or buy them, a pig to the person who owns or kills it, pork to the person who receives it from the original owner, and tools to the person who makes or buys them. He also knows what liens his various relatives have upon his property and what liens he has
[685] upon the property of his relatives. He has learned that if he disregards the property rights of others he may expect them to punish him if they catch him, but he has also learned during childhood that one may often thieve without being caught, and few Kwoma adults are above stealing if they are sure they will not be discovered.

423 It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma man is expected to
462 defend property rights in land. This duty falls upon him, his adult male relatives, the men of the subtribe, and the men of the tribe as a whole; women and children have no direct concern in the matter. A man's duties in the defense of property rights depend upon who transgresses them and under what circumstances such transgression takes place, and upon his membership in the tribe, subtribe, hamlet, lineage, and family line.

423 The Peilunga Range and the adjacent swamps are owned
619 by the Kwoma tribe as a whole, and as a member of this tribe a man is expected to defend this territory against conquest
[721] by another tribe. Such conflict rarely occurs, but a struggle
[715] over land in which all the subtribes of Kwoma banded together to annihilate and drive from the Peilunga Mountains a tribe who at one time shared the territory with them occurred during the lifetime of the grandfathers of the present
[648] generation. Minor disputes over boundaries with the tribes contiguous to Kwoma do not, however, concern the tribe as a

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14] [648] [692]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved. 423 621 692 578 [602] [613]

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a 423 611 428

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

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take them to the white court at Ambunti. The police officer will put them all in the calaboose for it." At the funeral the next day, most of the talk was of sorcery. The reaction was hysterical. A group of young men talked in loud excited voices, expressing sentiments similar to those of Sof. They asked me to help them bring the culprit to justice at the white court. During the night following the death and for several days thereafter the anti-sorcery gong messages were sounded at intervals from the house tamberan of the deceased. His relatives redoubled their efforts to discover the sorcerer and to force him to end his machinations, for they feared that they might be the next to be affected by it.[24] The people of Rumbima hamlet were still worrying because they had not yet discovered who had killed Gwiyap's father two years before. They suspected someone from Wanyi sib because Gwiyap's father had prevented some of the young men of this sib from philandering with his sister.

The death of a relative not only increases a Kwoma's fear of sorcery, it also means the loss of one who has hitherto contributed to his support and defense or, if the deceased is a child, one who promises to do so. Hence relatives of the deceased react with real as well as with formalized sorrow. The wailing of the women is the most dramatic of these formal expressions of grief. As soon as the tolling of the gong announces the death, they gather in the house where the corpse lies and start to cry in a long-drawn-out wail punctuated by short sobs on a lower note. A dozen or more women, each wailing in a slightly different key and sobbing at different intervals, produce a strange and moving sound. The women wail continuously until the following morning, when the deceased is placed on the burial platform. The male relatives show their sorrow by breaking their lime gourds on the shield which is used as a bier, and by pouring the contents over the corpse and their own heads. Close relatives, both male and female, smear their faces and sometimes their bodies with

[24] Kwoma believe that one magical performance may kill not only the person from whom the food is stolen, but his close relatives as well, for they may also have had intimate contact with the sorcery material.

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695 portant for a man not to flinch in these circumstances, for to do so would not only mean a great loss in personal prestige, but would also be taken as an admission of guilt. The men, therefore, slowly back away from one another as the heat of the discussion cools down, or one of them will make a particularly telling remark and turn contemptuously on his heel and sit down. Their place is then taken by another speaker. Men sometimes make short comments without standing. Courts to settle a dispute usually come to a successful conclusion after everyone has aired his opinion and those less closely involved begin to discuss the matter more rationally. A meeting to discover sorcery guilt goes on endlessly, however, reconvening day after day. The Kwoma themselves admit that it is "talk nothing," but they attend, nevertheless. It gives them an opportunity to vent their hostilities, even though they seldom convict anyone."

• 648 619 Although a Kwoma is suspicious of all foreigners, he nevertheless distinguishes between them in accordance with whether they belong to a tribe which is friendly with his subtribe or not. There is considerable trading between Kwoma [439] subtribes and their neighbors. The Hongwam not only ex- [436] change sago flour for fish with the river tribes, but they are a link in the chain which passes shell money from the sea up the Sepik and into the interior. These shells are exchanged for pigs, tools, and carved wooden figures, and since they are difficult for the interior tribes to obtain, the Kwoma can make a profit as middlemen. Both of these forms of exchange entail [582] visits between members of the various tribes. Furthermore, [574] there is some intermarriage between neighboring tribes, and visiting takes place between the woman and her relatives, and [796] Kwoma men sometimes attend ceremonies which are being held at a near-by tribe, or entertain foreigners at their own cult ceremonies. For these reasons it is advantageous for neighboring tribes to maintain sufficiently friendly relations so that these visits may take place safely. Under normal cir-

" Another reason for attending court is that to be absent raises suspicions of guilt.

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cumstances this is the case, but a dispute over property, the abduction or rape of a woman, or a head-hunting murder may break off these safe relations. Visiting then takes place only at the risk of one's life, until the matter can be settled. Finally a foreigner may sometimes steal, trespass, or encroach upon Kwoma land.

Safe relations with another tribe are reëstablished after a dispute by means of an intertribal court. After the heat of a dispute has cooled,[49] the adult males of the two tribes arrange by gongs to meet at an appointed place on neutral territory. They all carry daggers and spears to be prepared for treachery and to give force to their arguments. The two groups face one another, and a spokesman advances from each in turn to present the case of his tribe. Each spokesman accentuates his speech by slapping a flat board on the ground. Often the two representatives stand close to each other, chests out and eyes flashing, and jab bone daggers over one another's shoulder. Just as in the intratribal court, it is important not to flinch, so only the most courageous of the tribesmen act as spokesmen. Such courts are most commonly held to settle territorial disputes, to arrange the payment of a bride-price for an abducted girl, or to decide on a wergild for a head-hunting murder.

Open warfare between New Guinea tribes is infrequent, and the Kwoma are no exception. A war was waged in the time of the grandfathers of living informants. It began with a territorial dispute with the people who inhabited part of the area that the Kwoma now occupy. After a prolonged series of raids and counterraids, the Kwoma exterminated all but a small remnant of the enemy, who fled to another location. During the war, the Kwoma captured the leader of the enemy. They dragged him to one of their house tamberans and trussed him to the center pole. Then they held a dance around him, jabbed spears into him, spat at him, and otherwise tortured him. Finally they killed him, cut him up like a

[49] Informants said that it was of no advantage to hold a court when "bellies were hot with anger," as it would probably end in a fight.

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721 not the explanation at all. The real reason why the work was
593 undone, she said, was that the woman had spent the morning
578 in the bushes with Kar. War became furious at this, knocked his wife down with his fist, and threatened to spear his brother Kar. Kar denied the accusation indignantly, saying that his wife had merely invented the story to get him in trouble, whereupon he, in turn, clouted his own wife. War was still suspicious, but did not proceed further against Kar. War's
[586] wife, however, returned in a fury to the hamlet, packed her things, took her young daughter by the hand,[51] and left before War returned. Kar, who had arrived before she left, tried to dissuade her, but did not succeed. When War returned that evening and found his wife gone, he was even
[302] more angry than before. He painted his face with clay and swore that he would not take it off until he had brought her back or killed the man to whom she had fled. The next day he traced her to Yelagu, a neighboring tribe consisting of only six families. He took three spears and set out alone to bring back his runaway wife. Someone warned the Yelagu that he was coming, so that when he arrived there was only a cripple left in the village. War demanded where his wife had gone, but the cripple either could not or would not tell him and offered him a dog and some shell money if War would spare his life. War demanded more money, took it and the dog, and returned home.

721 The next evening War called his friends and relatives together. He distributed the dog meat among them, told them what had happened, and suggested that they go on a head-hunting raid against the Yelagu. He argued that it was a very small tribe and that they were all cowards. He said that it would be a good opportunity for some of the young men who had not yet taken a head to do so. He admitted that he was interested in getting his wife back and teaching her a lesson, and in punishing the man who had harbored her.
[648] Most of those present thought that it was a good idea, but several objected on the grounds that Yelagu was too near

[51] Theoretically she should have left her daughter with her husband, since children belong to their father's hamlet.

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Ambunti, the government post. Some of the men present had seen six river natives hanged by the white government for head-hunting and did not relish the idea of being caught themselves. They said that it would be much safer to attack Sowal, a tribe far in the swamp which the whites had not yet visited. Wof, a *brother* of War, voiced another objection to the raid. He pointed out that his gardens adjoined Yelagu territory, and since they would be sure to retaliate, it would not be safe for him to work in his garden if the raid were carried out. The group disbanded, excited but undecided. 721 648•

For two weeks there was a great deal of discussion among the men of the tribe. War and Wof argued with particular vehemence, War presenting over and again the reasons why it was a good idea to raid the Yelagu, and Wof countering with his objections. The two even broke relationship for a time because of the dispute. Neither visited the other's house, and they passed one another guardedly without speaking. The other men of the tribe, meanwhile, had been swayed by the argument that there was considerable danger of punishment from the whites if Yelagu were attacked, whereas Sowal involved much less danger. It was also reported that high water had driven the Sowal out of their central village, and that they were living on knolls in small isolated groups that would be particularly vulnerable. The pressure of these arguments finally forced War to give up his idea of attacking Yelagu, and he threw his weight into planning for the Sowal raid. He and Wof reëstablished their relationship. [578]

War and some of the older men of the hamlet began to incite the young men to go on the raid. He told them that this was their chance to become big men. In particular he played upon the emotions of Mes, because he, as my shoot boy, could use a gun. The effect of these incendiary talks put Mar in a strong conflict. One evening he came to talk to me about it. He told me that he had decided not to go on the raid. He was afraid that the raiders would get in trouble with the whites, and he was not going to have anything to do with it. Then he began talking about what he would lose by not going and started to weep. He sobbed: "Never mind. I'll

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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721 never be a man but never mind. I'll just be a woman all my
• 648 life until I die. I am afraid of being hanged, that's all. I am not going."

Finally, all the men of the subtribe and some from neighboring tribes met one night at the house tamberan near [703] Var's house. Those who had already taken a head were dressed with homicidal insignia. Their faces were blackened with soot, bands of opossum fur were fastened around their foreheads, and bird of paradise plumes attached to combs [262] bobbed from the backs of their heads. When all had arrived, a ceremonial soup was served, the special ingredients of which were supposed to make men bold and powerful fighters. It is so strong, the Kwoma believe, that a woman or child would die if they eat it. After eating, they broke up in small groups to plan the itinerary. It was decided to send a scout ahead to discover the lay of the land. After the scout had left, the men had nothing to do but wait until he returned [526] the next day. Some went home, but many stayed and began to play ball. The game soon turned into a spontaneous rehearsal of the raid, as the men lined up in sides and threw the ball to each other, shouting and stamping their feet at the same time.

The next day the scout returned to say that the road to Sowal was impassable. The water was so high that it was impossible to walk there, but it was not high enough to go with a canoe. The raid was therefore called off. I think that if it had not been for many who, like Mar, feared punishment from the whites,[32] a way would have been found and the raid carried out.

[123] [32] Not a few of the men opposed going on the raid because they feared that I would report them.

346 slightly larger at the top and about three-and-one-half feet high. It
gave the impression of the hull of a very high and stubby ship sailing
346 parallel to the long axis of the house. At each end were two large carved
532 wooden figures standing upright. These figures had shuttle-shaped bodies
of feather work with no representation of arms, legs or wings. The
feathers were slate blue and resembled those of the gouris pigeon; they
were arranged similarly to their natural state on the bird. The head of
each figure was a carved face about one and one-half feet high and nine
inches broad. Rather than full figure, the carving was more similar to
relief work. The cheeks were hollow rather than rounded and gave the
impression of a dish face. The nose was disproportionately long and pointed,
the mouth small and round. The entire face was painted in black, white, and
red. In addition to these two masks or statuettes, others were distributed
around the edge of the basket. Their size varied, but all of them were
smaller than the figures at each end of the basket. Some of them had
featherwork bodies, others no bodies, and one a wooden body roughly shaped
and representing a female. In addition, the whole altar was decorated with
red berries and yellow leaves attached here and there.

796 When we entered the building the "finish timers" crowded around us
123 and warned us that the "singsing" was a ceremony for adult men only and that
[562] we must not say anything about it to either the women or children. We
[958] were also warned not to mention it to the Patrol officer or they might
[648] get in trouble. (The government has no policy of restricting such ceremonies
except when they are directly connected with head hunting). The main purpose
of the peroration seemed to be to impress us with the importance of the
[532] affair. We were then led up to the altar and shown each of the figures,

796 Finally everyone joined in and the o wi was repeated three times. After about
533 ten more minutes of this, the tempo increased and a wierd rumbling sound was
534 made by the beaters of the drums being scraped inside the lips of the gongs.
Then the dancers picked up flutes and blew them, and bull roarers were whirred
just outside the house tamberan. One man made a wierd sound by blowing a flute
inside one of the gongs. All these various sounds gradually increased in
intensity to produce a very effective climax which was capped by the sudden
beating of the gongs and a shuffling dance and chorus similar to the previous
session of the singsing. The verses were still being sung in alternation by
[177] the lulusi and the people on the opposite side of the screen. It was interesting
that one of the dancers had a ten cent store tin flutd which he piped very
seriously while dancing and skipping about. Several of the dancers held their
hands above their heads and kept facing one or another of the masks and gazing
at it very intently.

123 During the dancing one of the "savvy talks" came and sat by us, told us not
796 to tell the "kiap" (Verey) where the three Waskuks who had run away from a
648 plantation were hiding. Verey had tried to get them when he came up with us, but
they 'went bush' and stayed there. I suppose some of them were at the singsing
and were afraid of being told on. We assured the "savvy talk" that we would not
give them away. We told him that we did not belong to the government but that
we belonged to the Waskuk. Tip said he was a Bangus and that I was a Waskuk.* This
pleased them very much and soon it was repeated to everyone.

796 Again, as for the previous ceremony, at about noontime they stopped for
264 food. There were two separate meals; one was of yams and coconuts, and the
262 other sago, grubs and pig. There seemed to be some kind of taboo working which
prevented some people from eating one meal and others the second. Some people,

* It is difficult to guess what was understood by this since Bangus was a neighboring hamlet in contrast to Rumbina, the one in which we lived, whereas Waskuk was the name of the tribe; we were under the impression at this time that Bangus was the name of another tribe.

123
114 we started back immediately it would be dark before we reached home. While it was disappointing not to see the gardening, we had observed enough to make the trip worthwhile. We finally reached our house more dead than alive. Tip's leather boots turned out to be not without their drawbacks, for he had developed a couple of very ugly blisters. We were so tired that night that we couldn't sleep.

October 23, 1936.

126 On the 20th it rained practically all day and we sat at home working on the
114 notes we had collected the day before and some more on the language. On the 21st it rained intermittently. Quite a few of the natives dropped in during
123 the day and we recorded their genealogies. We were disconcerted and somewhat
[754] cast-down by the fact that a report came in from several sources that the older men were attempting to sorcerize us. They did not like the idea of our playing father to the children and young men, or keeping them from their work.
[648] Yesterday, however, we were relieved by talking to Sof, one of the men who
[464] had worked on a white plantation. He came in with a bunch of bananas to
[191] barter. He is an intelligent young man who speaks pidgin very well. We asked him about the reaction of the old men. At first he denied the report, but then admitted it. He told us not to pay any attention to the old men, however, for all the young men liked us and wanted us to stay. He added very expressively in pidgin that he didn't have a damn for the old man, and we shouldn't either.

126 Then he gave us an excellent and complete genealogy; we took his physical measurements, and got some information from him on the social organization. Both Bangue and Washuk have three phratries each with a name and a
615 house tamberan.* A man belongs to the phratrie of his father and cannot marry
682 a woman of this phratrie. Although he may marry into the section of his mother, it is preferable not to do so. As Sof expressed it, the phratrie with which you

* This turned out to be a misinterpretation (see introduction)

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangua family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangua and Waskuk. [595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangua and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 [622] [648] [141] [619] In the afternoon, Sowinambi, the Bangua lulusi (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tangwishamp, Urambanj and Koriasi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is koromp. Our attempts to get his geneology were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangua owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Waseku ranges is called nambu.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

October 25, 1936.

101 Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions
649 of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bangus together were called
Hongwam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriasi together were another
[197] group called kuome.* These all speak the same language, so they said, and
101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the
river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numau,
173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the
721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige.
726 A large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it,
and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would
kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed.
[411] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took
[527] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the
[246] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.
Hamlets, house tamberans and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the
adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present genera-
tion, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongwam people.
Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs
[648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongwam called together the
Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Nowel, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriasi and they wiped out
the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at
Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya
was that the Hongwam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit
tree.

* Probably Kwoma

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[648]

settle with the Hongwan. When they first came, their house tamberans were Wambon and Ambunti. They were situated close together near the sago on the east side of the mountain on which Wenyabunkura is situated. When the police raided in 1928, they did not burn Wambon and Ambunti, but the Tug went into the bush just the same. They did not return to Wambon and Ambunti, but built Weyambank. Awinow, a segment of the Tug sib, are now at Weyambankura. Urambanj is also a segment of Tug now at Afokalis.

Soubundura of the Wanyi sib now have their own house tamberan, but were formerly at Weyambank.

211 at one side of which there was a stone about thirty inches high and five inches square set on end. There were two chips out of the top of this. [648] Owiyap, who was with Tip at the time, explained that it was put up by the Germans after they had killed a Waskuk man and woman in retaliation for the spear one of their entourage had received in the leg from the natives. The chips from the stone represented the two deaths and was put there as a reminder of them. The story also goes that the police boys of the Germans cooked and ate the Waskuk woman.

778 The next day on a trip in the other direction he discovered another stone of interest. This was another small monolith about three feet high and eight inches square. It was situated in the clearing of the Sombundura house tamberan in front of the house and on a line with its main axis. [821] When Tip touched it, Owiyap and others were much aghast. They said that this would cause a big wind to come up. Actually the wind continued to blow that night, but it was calm the following night.

443 Yesterday morning, Nov. 12, Tip went down to the"bung" (pidgin for
439 market place) to watch the Waskuk women trade their sago with the Yambon
443 women for fish, betel nut, and beads - mainly fish. Word had been sent
203 announcing the trading by a mnemonic device consisting of a knotted string -
211 one knot for each day which was to intervene between the reception of the string and the actual trading. The trading was done very expeditiously,.... I think I will copy Tip's notes.

[459] "A regular trade is kept up between Yambon and the Waskuk. The particular day on which it will be held is set by the Waskuks. This is communicated to the Yambons by means of something in the nature of a
443 knotted string.....The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the

124 evidence that it formerly existed; marriage--matrilocal, with gift of shells from boy's family to girl's; residence after marriage--patrilocal; and enough on language to enable us to understand vaguely what the old men are saying as they sit around the fire.

115 [648] Yesterday, a Mr. Eve came to Washuk. He is a surveyor for "Oil Search" Ltd. and has been all through the country between the Sepik and the Dutch border except for one little corner. Most of this country hasn't been traversed by anyone but him, and we spent a most interesting afternoon with him. He has made incidental anthropological notes as he passed through - such as house form, village arrangement and size, clothing, etc. He has all the names of the native villages in this area that he has seen (I guess he had not missed many), and he is going to let us make a rough copy of it this afternoon, and tell us what he knows about the vill gas at the same time. I should say that we were very much in luck to meet such a man. He had a lot to say about Thurnwald and admired his work very much. He said that he didn't get half the credit he deserved for his pioneering work. For instance, Champion and Karius only had to go eight miles (just over the limestone barrier) from the headwaters of the Fly to connect up with Thurnwald's work of years before, but they do not mention this. Another interesting thing that he has run across is a tribe in the interior which has a whistling language. Luckily he has two work boys from this place with him now, and I am going to see if I can get anything from them on their language and their tribe this afternoon while Tip works on the map.

DECEMBER 1. Mr. Eve stayed here three days and lived up to expectation. Tip made a copy of the map and got quite a few notes on the tribes that Eve had visited...enough to give a rough idea of where to go to future field workers. Had we met him before we settled here, I think we could

114 he had presumed to go to the house tamberan where the big men were blowing
627 the sacred flutes. Here they had given him a beating, but he had escaped and sought to hide in another house. This belonged to one of the four "finish time" boys who have broken their contracts and are hiding from the "kipp". This man and others turned on him, tied him up, and gave him an all night beating.

We called out for a Hongwem "bavi-talk". His came up and was not at all surprised. His story was that Mundik had tried to 'pull' or kill one of the Wanyabankura women, that he was crazy, and that they had tied him up to protest themselves. They knew that the "kipp" had tabooed killing. I'm sure that that alone saved Mundik's life. He is seeking sanctuary in our house now, which means that we will have to tread with care. We will send him to Ambunti and request that he be given work there. He will have to take his chances with the law, but that is probably safer than spears if he stays around here-- or returns to his village.

614 To return to more mundane things, we have been revising the lists of 'totems' which we first got from some of the "monkis". These are called sambe and include a hawk and a pig which are connected with the ancestry of two of the peoples in Hongwem. We have also been corrected by different informants when we said that tobacco was one of Rumbiman's sambe. John discovered that two other groups are combined in the Hongwem sib and got some
174 very interesting leads regarding sib history. The two punitive expeditions to Hongwem in 1913 and 1928 serve as rough pegs for time-perspective. There have been many changes within this period which may be able to throw some light on the problem of social change.

657 a half-day, he got a line representing between 80-90% of the recorded
177 population. At Tangwishamp the day before he had had a line of five old men who were not able to go off to the bush and hide with all the rest. One former medical assistant wrote under 'Remarks' in the village book 'it would be much easier herding sheep'.

659 From his inspection he concluded that the Kwoma are a very healthy
177 group of people. He had given us his tabulated results. The spleen rate
164 in children is rather high (they don't bother with adults), and filarial glands are found in one-third of the population. But framboesia is scarce and tropical ulcers few. Ring-worm is found in about one-sixth. After the inspection was over we dove into a half dozen bottles of beer which Max had brought for us.

657 The next morning the dispensary was set up outside our house and
177 treatment was given to those who had seemed to need it in the line the day before. Many more appeared than were called, all wanting the hypodermic injection 606, for framboesia. The fame of this is known to all, but beside its purpose it is expected to clear up any complaint that a person may have. Max was very good and gave over forty injections, handling the people very well. We told him the Hongwan term for hello, good-bye, etc. which he used to our friends great delight.

648 On the 12th we saw a pinnace going up the river; the second that has
657 gone up the river since our settling down here. Max told us that this was Assistant District Officer Ellis of Angoram who is going up to the Yellow River to dismantle the new station which is a failure. That means that after the first of the year Ambunti will again hold the title of being the most remote station in the territory--some say in the British Empire, but I doubt that. At any rate it sounds much worse than it really is.

648 657 The Yellow River station is being closed because it is a very unhealthy place and the natives are few. And there is another gold rush on over behind Wewak, so all the men that can be spared are needed there.

114 We were much less interested in governmental affairs than in whether the pinnace had brought us mail. When Hex left us the next day, he crossed two carriers with a big pile of it for us. Its bulk was due to six weeks daily issues of the Sydney Morning Herald. All of the first week in November's copies were missing, but in the last issue we had, that of Nov. 12th, we found that U.S. stocks had been climbing 'since Roosevelt's election'. Then we sent the natives packing and sat down for an afternoon of finding out what our friends and relations had been doing all summer.

We had been planning to leave here on the 20th to spend Christmas at Ambunti. First however, we were going to Yambon to spend four days 648 tracing down connections between these people and ours. They traded with [439] them long before the white men came, getting cowrie and sea shells from [178] them as they do today; in myths, the Yambon people are thought to have come [173] up one time with some of our Hongwam; and the Kroma people hid the Yambons fifteen years or more ago when the government was up here straightening out the village with rifles and fire.

114 The day before yesterday we had a note from Verey, the Police Master at Ambunti, saying the Assistant District Officer Ellis was sending up a pinnace for the four of us to come down to Angoram for Christmas. Ellis is the man who is the boss of the whole river, so we think this is a sufficient call to allow us a few days leave. Thus we will go to Ambunti tomorrow to meet Ellis on his way down and then go to Yambon for the following few days until our transport arrives.

114 [123] down and said he was going to sleep. He joined in the conversation about our going, and expressed friendship--would be sorry to see us go--were we coming back?--Maybe! If not send a couple more masters just like us back [521] to take our places. They discussed the buying of sugiliwas, spears, etc., and the possibility of a sing sing. Everyone was very much pleased.

114 648 Mee came from Ambunti with tobacco and a note from Verey saying to come on the day after tomorrow which we decided to do. On our way to bathe, Kumb, Kar, Waf, War, and others were sitting in the police house talking. Mar stopped and seemed worried. The boys with me told them something. They set off at a run. Mar stopped and asked what was up. It turned out to be that they were going to see "finish timer" returning from ten years at Madang.

123 231 Kumb came back and told us that the pig had gotten away from them and asked if we would shoot it tomorrow.

December 17, 1936. We set off after breakfast with the revolver, .44, a shot gun and the .22. The Yambons gathered in Sombindura house tamberan. A pig was being called up to the house, and we were to wait. We discussed [435] the price of the pig. At Yambon the price of a pig was laid out for us to see--2 14" cane knives, a small ax, and a bilum (net bag) of tambu (shell money). [One large shell = five shillings; one head band = five shillings (each finger represents a shilling); one head band with three fingers = three shillings; one string of shell cut into washers = five shillings; and three or four strings of small shells worth two to three shillings. About 30 shillings worth of shell.]

A boy came from Marok's saying the pig had come. Tip, Kumb, and a Yambon went while the rest of us stayed.

231 123 114 The chase was more or less every man for himself. There was quite a good deal of shouting. They went down hill first in the direction the pig had taken. Tip and a couple of others tried to track it, but with no success. We came back to the house tamberan, and someone shouted that it had been seen south of us -- half a dozen of us ran there. Abagap and Mem told us to stand in a line in the road; they had grabbed spears from a house that we passed, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's and shouted that the pig was in the other direction and dashed there. I followed Mem going down on a side path. Mem beckoned excitedly, and I came up. There was a pig below us coming toward us. I wanted to wait until it got nearer, but Mem kept telling me to hurry. Then I shot twice with the 22, and felt pretty sure I had hit him the first time. There was much dashing about. Someone began following some tracks that led north. We came upon a house, but there was no time to inquire about it. Then we lost the tracks. There was more shouting; another line formed on the road, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's, rushed out for a couple more false alarms, and returned for lunch.

Marok's explanation is that a <u>augiliwas</u> must have picked up the pig and is running about with it. This is also Mamb's explanation. It seems to me that no one really believed this but used it in the same sort of way that we have of making some excuse for failure. Ghosts are very convenient explanations.

754 648 464 Later Yat came up and said that Suw was all right. Someone had admitted that he had been sold poison and had since relinquished it. Yat and Kar are here now and say that Bob Overall, the recruiter, is coming up to get boys, and they are upset about it. Too many boys have gone away. Wolosak said the same thing earlier in the afternoon; he wanted us to tell Overall not to come. They seemed to want us to forestall him. If

648 Overall cann he would get boys in spite of their population policy. Later
464 Yat and Kar said that they, the "finish timers" who have already worked on a white plantation, do not want to go back to work, but some of the young people can go. Mar said he wouldn't go because he might get sick and die. Maybe it is because he is a "Rumbiman true" (loyal to Rumbima).

123 January 15, 1937. We arrived the day before yesterday from Ambunti. We saw Kar, Yat, Wof, and the children about. They all seemed glad to see me and repeated that they thought of us when we were gone, and were "sori long tu felo".

[755] War did not come to see us because he was ill. That night the gongs
[759] were beaten to fight off sorcery. I went to see him the next day, and he was very weak, but all right. Mar and Kar both told me that he been sorcerized along with Suw, Mar, and the others by people, probably of Wenyabanrara because they were friends of ours and the others were jealous of them. War asked us how long we were going to stay. I told him that I didn't know, and he said he was asking nothing and wanted us to stay a long time. This was seconded by his wife who seemed glad to see me also.

578 January 16, 1937. I was talking with a group who had just launched a canoe
593 that they had made, when loud voices were heard down below. Everyone dropped what he was doing, and after listening for a moment announced "fait i kum up nau" (There is going to be a fight) with serious faces. They ran to the scene of action--down the hill about 5 minutes beyond Marok's house. Mar and I set out behind them, and when we got to the scene of action, Kwal, a man of about 35 who did not talk pidgin, was leaning against Mas talking very excitedly. His face was very white and he was trembling (with excitement? suppressed anger? fear?). He was one of the principals: his elder brother Daw was the other. He was standing in front

was well.

January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a 'singsing' rhythm from Wenyabankura today. Mar and Gwiyap both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house tamberan. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some boys. Yat and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin". which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The next morning when Bob went down to the house tamberan and spread out his trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mundik was the only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with "Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore, he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Gwiyap were working for us, and he stormed off down to Marck's house.

January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kar Gwiyap, Mar, May, Mundik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the three house boys got a bit nervous, especially May and Mar. We arrived at the Tangwishamp house tamberan to find no one was there. Finally a "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the "master belong Rumbinan" (from Rumbina) was here and wanted kai kai (food),

123 They kept coming until finally we had quite a lot of food and about fifty
439 people gathered around. Bob had said to wait until morning before I
114 tried buying, but I felt that I would not have so many people around me again; so I broke out the trade and lined it up. At its first appearance all the older men rounded the young men out of the way and would not let them come to look at it. I asked the "savvy talk" what was the matter, and he said that five boys had been taken out to work and had not come back, and they would not let others go until they returned. Later I resumed the trade again and had supper. After supper, I went down to the house
114 628 521 [024] tamberan where a group was gathered around the fire. Kar was there, and he interpreted for me. He told me that Tangwishamp and Hongwam were friendly; Urambanji and Saseraman were no good and that Tangwishamp and Hongwam always combined against them. Then Kar's brother-in-law, who was sitting next to me, told that once a Tangwishamp had gone to Urambanji. He had sat down with them and started to eat in a friendly manner, just as we were sitting now, but one of the Urambanj had grabbed the Tangwishamp and the others had killed him. The Tangwishamp had not retaliated because the police had tabooed it, and they didn't want to be hung. Then one of the
114 648 521 Tangwishamp told that some of them had been chased by the Amiki (a neighboring tribe). They had been washing sago and had dropped everything to run. One of them had been just missed by a hurled spear. They wanted [123] me to tell this to the police so he would take steps against them. Then
114 521 648 Kar and some of the Tangwishamps began whispering, and then talking rather excitedly. Kar asked if I understood. I knew they were talking about Eve and the Amiki(wisepeju -to tuck, was used very often). Then Kar told me that Eve and all his boys had been killed by the Amiki.. He had been burned in the house tamberan, and his bones thrown into the water. The

114 521 648 Tangwishamp had gone with him as far as the market and then had returned. Eve had gone in, bought food, shot a kaviak tree for demonstration purposes, then had sent half his boys to fetch a pig that the Amikis had killed. While they were thus separated, the Amikis got their guns and then killed Eve and his boys; took all of Eve's trade, and divided it up. Then they burned their guns in the funeral pyre. The Tangwishamp said if I didn't believe it they would show me the fire scorched post in the [123] house tamberan. They wanted me to get the police and some police boys and [721] settle the matter. They would go too with their spears to get heads, birawa. I said that I had heard this talk of Eve before, but I had thought it was not true. They were very insistent that it was, and named about ten Amikis who had gotten heads at the time. I was still not sure that the story was true, but it was very convincing.

114 I went and told Hamb who was in the police house at the time with the recruiter's boys; their talk got quite excited. They said that Afokalis was very close, and if they had killed Eve, it must have been in collusion with the Tangwishamps; and if so, what was to prevent them from sending word to Afokalis to come over and kill us. At this point Mar said that he had overheard a couple of Tangwishamps exclaiming about the axes, knives, etc. that we had, saying that they would kill us during the night, and get them for themselves. They planned to kill me and Hamb and Bob's boss boy first and then the other Hongwans would run away and be killed. The boys decided to keep watch.

We built a big fire and sat around it talking and watching. I was very ambivalent about the situation. I felt that, looked at sanely, the whole thing was probably a farce, but at the same time I was quite scared. I decided that it certainly was on the safe side to keep watch. Some of

114 We finally arrived home, pretty well exhausted. Mundik had brought his load to the house, dropped the axes and gone off, saying he was going to get something to eat. I told my story to Bob and Tip. The former laughed at my fears. He said that he had been there three years before and stayed for several days without any trouble. Both Tip and Bob felt the Eve tale a fake.

648 While I was gone, Bob had gotten another recruit--May. He is about
464 thirty, somewhat of a dandy; he usually walks about with a long white feather in his comb and is very careful of his personal appearance. He speaks in a low musical voice, slowly, giving the impression of thoughtfulness. He was the one at the Mokwi ceremony who grabbed the spear and went dancing with it around the water drum. Tip said that he had come in the morning and had sat by the cook house for a couple of hours and then finally had said that he wanted to sign up. A short while later, four youths from Weyambank came, accompanied by the Tultul and Sow. They also signed on. The recruiter decided that it was best to go at once, before
[593] they ran away. May and the boys looked rather frightened. When the time came for them to go, all their mothers, sisters, and wives came up and began wailing as at a funeral. Their older relatives broke their lime gourds and rubbed the lime on the shoulders of the recruits. Others came up and rubbed the lime on them too. There was much embracing and excited talking. Tears were streaming down the faces of the women. It was a scene of hysteria.

To add to the confusion, Mundik had not appeared, and there was much excited yelling for him, but to no avail, and finally Bob and Tip went off with them.

578 Kar came up in the afternoon in quite an agitated state saying that
754 Kumb had thought he had "pushed" his wife and was going to "make poison"

578 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of "making poison" against
754 War and Sewingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for "poison." Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought
464 all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Kamb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urembanj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Waynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp . The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 January 28, 1937. Today Owiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned
114 home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked
202 Owiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come
[534] and have a talk. Sortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a "lapun mari" was dying and they were calling her relatives

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[562] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[324] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
439 pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayandi would reach from
464 Rumbima house tamberan to Soubundura--quite a "drink house"? Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

648 464 that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Maski, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

123 574 Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not, and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

123 February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain, pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection. [834] [372] There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an empirin tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of cocoanuts. The house was full of smoke.

[286] Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making [361] a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses [252] almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and he gave Mar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. May also spit and mumbled.

695 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or
754 Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way,
and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalewanj, who wasn't there.
The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him
before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on
[264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time
I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not
[123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for
[439] which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him
[765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's.
War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his
[521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered
[754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back
and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A
[262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were
[593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for
[628] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back,
but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had
not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't
648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan
721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police
had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yet came up this noon and said that he had made a blind
for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other
day and found that Bwiyampa and Dowari and Mawandaya had broken it and

224 made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and
[518] accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and
[648] ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is
going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungawi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields.
Mawandaya has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old
Hayamakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkora. They have built a new little
one and call it Cumbwinembara. Pokwago is pregnant. Yat wants to take
Mawandaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears
627 stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group
from Sombundura and Way came by covered from head to foot with mud. They
had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so
that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late
in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was
that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems
to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics
and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen
some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making
accusations.

439 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Yambon this morning. Kwai was
241 cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, Mey, Mar, Asanampa, Way, Kawas
helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed
so I continued to Masa's on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out
shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

754 578 carrying a spear. Later I heard loud voices at the house temberan, so I went down. It seems that someone brought word that Kwalump was responsible for the accusation of the Hayemakwo, and people are becoming annoyed with him and brought up the fact that they mistrusted his father for killing Mar's brother. Kar brought up the fact that he and other Hayemakwos had hidden Kwalump from the police, and now they thought they would turn him over to them.

[648]

123 After I had stayed for a while, Wof politely asked me to leave. I went to Wof's house and sat down with all the women and May. Chinuwa rubbed my arms, and Kwiyakay and Awe giggilingly protested and pretended to be shocked.

522 March 23, 1937. I went to Mar's with Owiyap. Awe and Kwiya were there. Owiyap began walking around with a stick between his legs telling the girls that Fit's penis had been stiff that morning 'just like this'. Fit became annoyed and said it wasn't so. Owiyap kept teasing him for some time about it. The girls thought Owiyap very funny but gave Fit a piece of their mind for having had an erection in public.

241 March 24, 1937. Mar plans to go to the bush to tie up yams.

576 March 26, 1937. When news came of Sowinambi's accident (he had been bitten by a wild pig), War, Wof, Mar, Yat, and Wayakola went to pay respects.

231 March 27, 1937. Marok's dog died this afternoon. I went down to his house to find him sitting in the new house, very glum. Uka was sitting outside, but did not return my greeting. The dog was lying in the old house, Marok's wife sitting beside it. Uka came to the doorway, looked at the dog, and started sobbing -- it was restrained, not a wail. Chinuwa came and started wailing, took the dog in her lap, and continued until I left.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 628 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps [648] were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the women or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Fit and May said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 262 313 Mar and Mes worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 123 April 7, 1937. Owiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinuwa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinuwa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 [593] [262] Wof and War went to Dawus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

533 Namb and Yam began playing flutes after dark. May and Way were here. As soon as they started, Way spoke sharply to May and told him to come. They left for home.

114 April 11, 1937. I returned from the trip to Ambunti. Kar is still away at the bush house. The gongs were beaten at Wenye similar to the poison beatings. 685 [533] It turned out that someone had come back from the bush and found his house had been broken into, and he was making a fuss about it. Kwalump, Salakawe, Amba, and War came up. Kwal told me that they had had a watokolai about the house breaking--nothing eventuated.

123 685 After supper I talked about Way, who, the day I left, had stolen a knife, a "lap lap," and a big tin. I said that if he brought it back, it would be all right but that if he did not, I would take the case to court. They all agreed to the justice of this and for fifteen or twenty minutes talked over the question. "This is the behavior of a child, not a man. Punch him in the nose; don't be afraid of him." Then May repeated the evidence against him. He [648] had seen Way with the knife in his hand just before it disappeared. Then incidents were recounted of a previous theft of Way's; he had stolen a knife from the patrol officer when he was here, and the police boys had beaten him up. There was laughter and then talk of the time when the Germans owned territory, and Way was carrying cargo. He got tired and said he wanted to defecate. The police boy said that if that was the case to do it where he was. Way had tried to run away, and the police boy beat him up. This was told with great relish by Yat and Kwal and was followed by much laughter. The final indictment was that Way was not a man but a ghost (gamba).

May just came in saying that Wof was sorry that Way had stolen the long knife. "Way, im i no monki belong yu im i big falo man. im i no bilong muther falo bannis, belong Rumbiman dasal--fashion no good." (Way is not your child.

721 because he was afraid of sorcery. Kar came up later and asked me why I did not
726 come down. I went, and there were about 50 people there. Most of them were or-
[123] namented with black paint and mano (bird of paradise) feathers. They played ball
[302] until dark and then left. I told Kar that I would not tell the police about the
[301] raid, and he seemed upset and wanted to know who had told me about it. I
[524] answered that I had overheard War at the house tamberan, so as not to get my
[123] informers in trouble.

726 Mar and Mas told me that they were going to raid not Yelangu but Nugitama
648 (Sowal Urambanj). The former place had representatives of the Australian government, and they were afraid they would get in trouble with the police. Sowal Uramganj, however, was not yet under Australian control, and they could get away with it.

I asked them if they were going. Mar said "No, mi fraid long kiop mi no laik hang im up. Maski, mi stop alasaim mari. Mi no man. Mi mari dasol. Mi stop mari olatsim. Maski put im bilas bilong biruwa." (No, I'm afraid of the Australian patrol officer. I don't want to be hung. Never mind, I will be a woman the rest of my life. Never mind weaning the symbols of manhood.) He showed considerable affect during this speech as if he were making quite a secrifice by deciding not to go. He and Mas both asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. Mar said that perhaps later they would go to Yelagu and clean it up, but that this was a different affair, War's idea, but that if this came to pass, he was going to tell the police because his garden would be useless.

726 They reported that now they were waiting for men from Urambanj, Tangwishamp,
[501] Koriasi, and Yambon. War had made soup at his house. They were planning to go by canoe, to leave that night and skirt the Kwoma mountains. They would approach at night, single out one house tamberan and surround a house silently. At number one fowl (dawn), the leader would approach the house and break the fence (evidently the Sowal Urambanj's have palisades).

726 As the occupants of the house rushed out, he would spear them. Those who
[411] escaped his spear would rush into the spears of the men surrounding the
[714] house. (They all would carry three spears and shields and be ornamented.) Then, if the alarm had not been spread, they would go to another house and continue until all the people belonging to this house tamberan were either killed or
[727] had fled. Then they would burn the house tamberan and leave. Only heads of the handsome adult men would be taken (Yambons take all heads.) The Sowal Urambanjs of the other house tamberans would not help but would run away as soon as the alarm was given.

April 13, 1937. The raiders have not started. They fear treachery because no one came from Tangwishamp. They have all gone to Wenya to talk things over. Mar came back with the news that the raid was all off--that a man had come from Tangwishamp saying that the water had gone down so that the creek which they had planned to use was closed up. They will go later when the
[648] road is passable. I asked him if he thought that one reason why they gave it up was fear that the thought of hanging played a part in their putting off the raid. The reactions of Mar and Mas yesterday suggest it did.

124 Tofokaman came to visit this morning and has hung around all day. His wife is visiting at Wof's and Mar's. His wife is Mar's sister. Sof and another young man, ("Dr. boy") came and sat around for a while. "Dr. boy" brought up the subject of my losing things and said that the lads were innocent and that he had seen Marok with my tobacco. After lunch they went down to Rumbiman house tamberan. Mar came in and told me that he had made an arrangement with Mbwimbi and Gwanto, to get Mas's sister Uka down to a certain place to catch fish. Mar is to meet them there and take Uka to his garden house. He will come back in the late afternoon. He asked me not to tell Mas, and to protect him

1244 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes and sat down at Mar's. Eriya and Awa were there ahead of us; the others had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Awa who could
123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they were kafwapak -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on
[514] again. Later Awa urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels. Then she carried a net bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there.
262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. Hey was evidently anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at
123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. Kis was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing
231 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of
431 sobbing. Hey was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Marok will carry it to Koriasi to give to their sister (Ngusaruka) who is married
[648] there. Her father was Uhuiyin. Her brother was killed by the police boys.
583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Way's daughters had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chinuwa took it, saying it was better so. Aya is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with Way's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the

*115 [123] unsuccessfully to get from me.

*115 583 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tengwishamp to get some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's older brother died and a Tengwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a [587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (5 marks).

[123] Kar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] [464] [583] [476] [614] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his older brothers spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.

January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tengwishamp accompanied by Mar, Kar, Owiyap, Nmub, Mey and Mundik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tengwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.

January 26, 1937.

[123] [154] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; Mar, particularly, always sorcerizes people. Later [241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams. He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Mas who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

*115 787 602 753 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot of the moutain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough. He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left then to get it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

*115 [754] When Kar, Afok , Fokotay, Dewangi and Yat went to blow flutes, Mar and Mes decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerized and had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

*115 156 [648] The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said, "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman, that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind." He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mes asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. [123]

April 15, 1937.

*115 584 [123] Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mbwimbwi, Gvanta and Pamba to get Mes' sister, Aya, to go to a certain place to catch fish. Mar will meet them there and take Aya to his garden house. He doesn't want me to tell Mes and thinks I should protect him again War if he makes a fuss--to say that it was Aya's idea.

*115 582 After supper Yat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

*115 582 be no good. Mar's response to this is: "Never mind the blood. Come on up here. If you want to stop me you'll have to fight me."

April 16, 1937.

*115 584 583 Mar decided to put off his plan to see Aya until a later day, but he satisfied Yat's objections with a plan of having Mas marry Yat's daughter which would mean that the latter would receive the bride price.

April 17, 1937.

*115 583 Plans for the elopement are progressing--it is arranged for tomorrow.

April 18, 1937.

Marok, another of Mar's uncles and potential protectors, has gone on a trip and Mar decided to wait to elope until he returns.

April 19, 1937.

This evening after supper I went to Mar's. I asked him about the delay in their plan. He says that he would like to carry on but that his uncles Way and Yat have told him not to.

April 20, 1937.

[754] Today it seems that the whole affair with Aya is off. His uncles Yat and Way warned him about the dangers of sorcery, and Mar said, "Never mind about Aya; I'll get another girl."

April 25, 1937.

*115 • 648 464 [602] [754] [614] I left Kwoma and Mar went with me. After a good deal of hesitation, he has signed on with the recruiter to work for three years on a plantation. Mas and Owiyap signed on also. His uncles were very much against his going-they warned him of the dangers of sorcery and told him that he must stay to do the work of the sib, but Mar left nevertheless.

Chapter IV

Case History- GWIYAP

*115 Gwiyap is about 14 years old, slim, good looking and intelligent. He
157 is quite often around the house, and is willing to do odd jobs. He begged
persistently for matches for about half an hour one day--he is persistent
[191] even after having been refused, but not objectionably so. He has learned
*115 and talks pidgin English quite well. He lives with his father's second
593 wife, and was brought up by her. Both of his parents died when he was young--
736 his mother killed in an incident with the Tangwishampe. He was carried
*115 off by his foster mother and they went to hide in the sago swamp. His
553 name was given him by the Malue with whom he stayed after the raid. His
mother had named him Woyahokwa (the ringing of an ax).

October 18, 1936. The story of the 1928 raid.

?. 648 Gwiyap was only a small child at the time and does not remember it all
726 himself. Two police boys raped a woman while her husband and others were out
in the gardens. Men returned and killed both police boys. Three white men
and a good number of police boys came with muskets and sat down at the
house tamberan for a long time. The Hongwan hid in the house except for a
few men. Gwiyap's father carried him down to the swamp, accompanied by his
'mother'and his older brother. The police boys killed fowls, pigs, cut down
coconut trees and burned the house tamberan, and shot men and women. Somehow
Gwiyap's mother and brother were killed but his father escaped. Since then,
when white people came, patrol officers or policemen, everyone ran into the
bush.

October 20, 1936.

*115 Yesterday we went out to where they were planting yams. Gwiyap, who had
123 gone the day before, came up and seemed very pleased to see us. We
ate at Mirok's house, and during the meal , Gwiyap sat down beside me and

*115 123 [576] [522] put his arm around me repeating, "Oh, master! Greetings!" several times. Mar's two sisters and three female children were around, and it may have been partly to show off to them. Such action fits in with Kwoma culture, in which embracing is the form of greeting. I asked Oviyap if one of the little girls were his <u>mina</u> (girl), intending to kid him, but he said, "No," and carefully explained her relationship to him. He was perfectly serious in this. I tried the same thing with Mey, with the same result; so apparently such kidding is not done in this culture. On the way back, Oviyap carried the rifle and led the procession although Wof, Mar and Marok, all older than he, were present.

October 21, 1936.

*115 • 648 He came in this morning, and we asked him for some words, which he gave us. Then, unbidden, he told us a story of a hanging he had seen several years before (three, according to Hamb). Some of the natives of Madeyakwa, a village in the bush behind Avatip, had wounded a police boy in the leg with a spear. The "kiap" had punished them by hanging seven of them and had brought in natives from the surrounding villages to observe this so that it would be an example to them. This is the second time he had volunteered stories of the killing of natives by white men. This time, as before, he told the story animatedly, as if he were telling a very interesting and exciting bit of news.

*115 Later in the evening I began making shadow pictures on the wall.
123 Neither Gwiyap nor Mey likes this. They said that ghosts would come.
775 I knew that whistling at night was also supposed to bring ghosts, so I tried that to add to the effect. This worried them all the more. They were getting quite uncomfortable, so I stopped. Just at that moment some insect began to make a whistling noise. Both of them started at this and after a moment bolted for their own house.

*115 This morning we heard a bird of paradise crying, and Tip decided to go hunt it. He asked Gwiyap to come, but Gwiyap made excuses--the road was no good, and it was going to rain. So Tip went with Marur and Hamb. I asked Gwiyap what the real reason for his not going was and finally wormed it out of him. He had not killed a man; he was a"monki nothing" and since he couldn't wear the feathers, there was no point to his going along.

*115 Recruiters will be coming in to Hongwan again to sign on boys. Gwiyap
• 648 is anxious to go and expects that others of his age will go too. He is
464 looking forward eagerly to the chance. He knows that it is "hard work too much", but is not deterred by that fact.

The material gain is what seems most important to him. He recounts how many boxes of goods Kis brought back purchased from the money he received. The boys who have signed on and worked before will not sign on again.
December 1, 1936.

787 Last night a ghost possessed Mar's fiancee, Yawa. Wof exorcised it. According to Gwiyap, the ghost was really after Wof to punish him for marrying Chinuwa. Gwiyap could not go to sleep until early morning after this incident.
According to Gwiyap
/Mar and his wife know how to be possessed by spirits; Chinuwa and Way's wife know a little about it. These are the only persons in Rumbiwa who can be possessed by spirits.

*115 787 Way, having stuck the spear through the body of dead woman, carried her down to the water and threw her away. Then Gwiyap, Way, and his whole family ran away into the bush and came to a yam house. (Gwiyap's mother's name was Kowubwas, which means 'no yams'.) They sat down in this and made a fire. Way's wife inquired whose garden it was and said there must be a man about, so they left and went to their own garden in the bush. Way's two daughters got some tiny little bush bananas (gamba yofu). The mother carried a little pot-- "just like the one on your table" -- and they made soup. Then they walked through grassland. Way said they were going to a place where there were men who had taken heads. Merik, their son, began to cry and was very afraid, but they kept on until they came to a marsalai dwelling place where they became afraid and turned back. Next they came to the edge of a 'round water', where they saw a canoe which Gwiyap wanted to take. Way said that it belonged to someone else who would fight them if they took it, but Gwiyap said, "Never mind", and took Gwanta across and then returned to get the rest. They then came to Malu. The Malus asked what they were doing their and were told they were [123] hiding from the "kiap" because they had killed the master at Waskuk. ("This dream is about you.") The Malus said it would be all right--that they would hide them. Gwanta and Gwiyap returned to their bush house, leaving Way and the others behind. They stayed there and Gwanta killed a gouria pigeon with her hands and made soup of it which they ate. Then Gwiyap went to defecate and came all the way to my house when he woke up.

*115 ● 648 123 829 After reporting the dream, he said that he did not like the idea of the head hunting raid-- that he thought he would go to America with me. He thought this place would be 'shot up' by the police again.